Slavery. Vol I.

374

Ms. B. 9.1 (3)

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Facts – Thoughts – Remarks &c

on Slavery – its Remedy &c

Index

Objections to Immediate Emancipation ——— p. 1. 64
Objection to Gradual Emancipation ——— p. 68.
Objections to Amelioration or the discussion of the subject p. 70.
Objections to the discussion or abolition of the Slave trade p. 72.
Articles on the subject of Slavery ——— p. 50
Miscellaneous facts touching Slavery ——— p. 5. 32
Miscellaneous facts touching Slave-trade ——— p.
Miscellaneous facts touching Emancipation ——— p. 40.
" ——— " ——— " ——— Colonization ——— p. 7.

Opinions of Eminent Men ——— p. 54.
Statistics of Slavery ——— p. 14.
St Domingo ——— p. 17.

History of Efforts in this country for the Education &c of blacks p. 76.
Illustrations of Negro Character ——— p. 80.
Illustrations of Prejudice against Negroes & its ~~cura~~ -bility &c

Index.

Immediate Emancipation, Objections to — p. 1
Character of Slavery — 2.
Wilson's Statement — 3.
Miscellaneous facts, touching slavery — p. 5. 33.
Facts bearing on Colonization — p. 7
Statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church p. 14.
St. Domingo — facts touching it — p. 17
References to articles on the subject of Slavery &c p. 51.
Objections to the Abolition of the Slave-Trade p.
~~Opinions of Eminent Men touching Slavery & Emancipation~~

Clergymen are ineligible to Civil offices in New York - Virginia - N. & S. Carolina - Mississippi - Louisiana - Tennessee - Kentucky - Missouri = 9 States.

Slavery &c

Objections to Emancipation. 1. Sever the Union

2. Result in Amalgamation.

3. Evil enough at home – as much as we can do, to take care of ourselves.

4. There is no slavery here – why not go where it is?

5. A mere political movement – what have ministers to do with it?

6. Ministers to take hold of it, do it merely to distinguish themselves.

7. I believe in gradual emancip. – I'm a Colonization – ist – I dont believe in this fanaticism &c.

8. If we dont amalgamate, we sh be obliged to associate with them – eat – drink – sleep – ride &c.

9. I dont know wh! Anti-Slavery is, neither do I wish to.

Slavery as a matter of treatment, or in actual operation, what is it? (See Article in Ref. Repository for 1834, by Rev. Robert Breckenridge, or see Anti Slavery Reporter Vol. 1. p. 16.) It is that condition, &c

Slavery Unchristian. The proof is short, imagine Christ if you can, a slaveholder, managing a plantation - or an overseer &c.

Slavery the chief of sins - Wht are ye evidences of sin? many principles, & more fully it is developed & acted out the greater & more overgrown ye sin - e.g. suppose ye three pennyr tax grown up to it - or intemp. entrenched not only by ye license laws but also by laws compelling every man to buy &c -

Slavery is infidel. - see Cooper - Owen - Slaves -

Slavery is cruel. see facts.

Slavery is licentious. see facts.

American Slavery is ye grand obstacle to ye progress of freedom & Christianity (a) thro. ye world - It begets all ye collisions & misunderstandings in our nat. char. & thus multiplies our influence over ye world - But for these things free govts had sprung up long ago in Europe & in ye train of ye diffusion of Christ & all ye blessings of ye gospel

Statement of Wm. Wilson. In 1815, when the English were before Charleston, one of the slaves of Mr H. Leavitt Esq came & asked a pass for himself & several of his companions to attend a meeting, soon another came &c - & then another - until every man on the plantation had thus obtained his pass - some to go to a meeting here & some there. It occurred to him the affair looked strange. It was not long before same thing was repeated. He took occasion next day to ride to one of the plantations, fell in company with a slave, asked, "did you have a good meeting here last night"? - "Not here master, it was over yonder" was the reply; & so on one or two other plants. Resolved on finding out what was on foot, he went to the city, bought a negro dress &c - & the next time his slaves came gave them a pass - disguised himself as a negro - went out & followed - island within island - 3. or 4,000 present &c - - proceedings of the meeting ~~[illegible]~~ Question shall we go over to the English? Yes - "What shall we do with Buckram? - "Revenge sweet" - Young man replies no - "scorn it" - Old man, books, papers, how learning to read - how send them - plans take in the country -

Secrets of the Charleston Plot – Wm Wilson –

The City divided into Wards – a Captain to each ward – each Captain not to inquire or know the men of the other – to begin at the corner house – find number of slaves & whites – give each slave his man – in broaching the matter to the slave, to eye him, & if he wear young masters clothes & drink rum have nothing to do with him – If in any case there be not man for man, get some one from another house, where there is more than enough, to marry in that yard.

His management, when it was proposed to save Dr North & Furman was to ask each present if they had not some friend they wished to save &c.

Slaves never so quiet and so few instances of running away as just before the discovery of this plot – the hope of deliverance kept them quiet. When the slaves are most easy then slaveholders have most to fear.

The hope of deliverance, whether by fair means or otherwise, makes the slave quiet.

Facts from Bro. Bliss of Boston - He spent a year at the South in Columbia S. C. & was returning to N. following ~~the~~ One day saw a man passing, said one the man has made himself rich by selling his own children.

(2) One day, a gang of slaves drove by place where several slaves were at work making cotton gins - they dropp[d] work to see them pass - one recog[d] wife - ran - embraced her - drove on - he sold previously fr. brig. & now she & going still farther South.

(3) A man that lived oppos. in splendid style - rode to ch in coach - daughters &c in style - amazed his wealth by the traffic in slaves.

(4) The administrator of an estate wishing to realize as much as possible fr it, sold the members of a family, separate - they plead - & finally were forc[d] to shut them up in a dark room, sell wife first - husb - child by child &c -

Facts ascertained at Washington, Alexandria &c.

Saturday Apl 26th. See Journal

Facts from Mr Appleton of Portland; he has resided at the South some ten years. On one occasion, a man was to be sold from his wife & family, passing along street he rushed into a little shop by the way, seized a dull axe lying there, laid his hand on a log & cut it off, & then said, to his master, holding up & bleeding limb, "now sell me if you will". Mr Appleton saw it. The Doct. was obliged to amputate at the wrist, negro refused to let any one hold him, held it out, without the moving of a muscle & declared he felt not the pain for the joy he had at the thot of not being seperated from his wife & family. occurred in 1822 in Richmond.

Negro cuts off his hand in 1822.

Again, within two years (say 1831) one Mr Ezekiel Dawes, worthy man, has a domestic who wished to be married after the custom, so called in with masters consent some 40 or 50 dressed in their best, police watched them, found there was no white among them, about 10 in the evening rushed in upon them, carried them to the "cage" as they term it, next morning carried bef. the police court, whipped 5 or 10 lashes each &c. Police men get one dollar a head for each one they arrest & whip.

Negro wedding in 1831

Facts &c in Vol 1. of the Boston Recorder. 1816.

Bearing on Colonization

~~"Augustine Hall" a seminary in the Education of Colored youth – established at Philadelphia Vol 1. p. 122, 134.~~

"African Theological School", proposed to be established by Synod of N York & New Jersey. Drs Richards Griffin, Romeyn, Finley, McDowell, Spring, Dr Leeds on the part of Assembly Vol 1. p 182. 186.

"American Colonization Society" Formation of & Speeches in Vol 1. p 22. Mr Caldwell's Speech p 32.

Extracts – Mr Clay, said + + + "can there be a nobler cause than this, which, while it proposes to rid our country of a useless & pernicious, if not dangerous portion of its population, contemplates & spreading of the arts of civilized life, & & possible redemption from ignorance & barbarism of a benighted quarter of the globe!

It was proper & necessary distinctly to state, that in understood it constituted no part of the object of this meeting, to touch or agitate in the slightest degree, a delicate question connected with another portion of the Colored population of our country. It was not proposed to deliberate

Facts &c in Boston Recorder. 1816

upon, or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or that was connected with the abolition of slavery. It was upon the condition alone, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the South & West whom he saw present, had attended, or could be expected to cooperate. It was upon the condition, that he had himself attended."

Mr John Randolph (of Roanoke) said "that it had been well observed by the Chairman, as well as by the gentleman (Mr Caldwell) from this district, that there was nothing in the proposition submitted to consideration, which, in the smallest degree, touches another very important & delicate question, which ought to be kept as much out of view as possible. But it appeared to him, that it had not been sufficiently insisted on, not only that this meeting does not in any wise affect the question of negro slavery, but, as far as it goes, must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the U. S. in, to, & over such slaves. + + + It was a notorious fact, that the existence of this mixed & intermediate population of free negroes, was viewed by every slaveholder, as one of the greatest sources of the insecurity, & also unprofitableness of

slave property + + + In a worldly sense of view, then + + + owners of slaves were interested in throwing this population out of the bosom of the people. + + + they above all other people were most interested in getting rid of this sort of population + + + He thought it necessary to make these remarks, being a slave holder himself, to shew that, so far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed, would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property."

Life of the Rev. John Elliot. p. 33—

Extracts "More than 20 years had passed from the first landing of the settlers in N. E., before they seriously turned their attention to the conversion of the natives. The difficulties inseperable from the attempt to establish them in a wild country, where the inhabs were frequently hostile, had fully employed their cares. In the year 1646, however, the Gen. Court of Mass. colony passed an act for the encouragement of attempts to win over the natives to the Faith of Christ. Mr Elliot entered most readily into these views. In preparation for the undertaking, he had been for some time studying the Indian

Boston Recorder 1816

language, with ye assistance of a young native who can speak English." (p 34)

Success.

"His success was beyond his hopes. His heart was much set on bringing ye Indians to live together in a civilized community, & it is worthy of remark how soon they began themselves to feel ye ~~importance~~ advantage of doing so. The Gen. Court of Mass. allotted to them at his request, a portion of land for ye erection of a town, & while ye Court were deliberating on ye choice of a convenient spot, ye Indians, not aware of ye intention of ye English toward them, were consulting on ye adoption of laws for the[ir] own improvement & civilization, the principal of wh. were intended to encourage industry & cleanliness, & to prevent immorality & indecencies before common among them. The reports made by Mr E. & his friends, of ye effect of the[ir] labors, were very encouraging."

A town was soon erected called Noonanetum (Rejoicing) & soon after the Indians near Concord wished to be united in a town in a similar way, & "at an assembly of Sachems, & other principal Indians, held toward ye end of November, they agreed

to repress, by heavy fines, all intemperance, Cursing, falsehood, theft, profanation of ye Lord's day, impurity, gambling, & quarreling - to punish adultery & murder with death - to abandon ye old practices of howling for ye dead, & of adorning ye hair & greasing ye bodies, & to adopt ye customs of ye English." (p. 49.)

Opposition

Still he was not without opposition (1) from the Powaws or Priests; & (2) from ye Sachems or Chiefs. The chiefs were alarmed for their authority & revenue. "This temptation hath much troubled Cutshamaquin, our Sachem. His spirit was raised to such a height, that at a meeting after lecture, he openly contested with me against our proceeding to erect a town, & plainly told me that all ye Sachems in ye country were against it. When he did so carry himself all ye Indians were filled with fear; ye countenances grew pale, & most of them slunk away. A few stayed, & I was alone not any Englishmen with me: but it pleased God to raise up my spirits, not to passion but to a bold resolution, so that I told him it was God's work in which I was engaged, that he was with me, & that I feared not him nor all

the Sachems in ye Country, & tho I was resolved to go on, do wt they might. It pleased God th his Spirit shrunk & fell before me; wh. when those Indians th tarried saw, they smiled as they durst out of his sight, & have been much strengthened ever since." [p 53]

Success. Town } In the year 1651 a considerable number of Indian Converts united together & built Natick, a second town, & in 1660. the first Indian Church at Natick was formed. [p 57]

Bible & other Books } He paid special attention to schools, & to ~~teaching natives~~ qualifying natives to preach, & in 1661 published a translation of the New Testament in the Indian tongue; & then a second edition of the whole Bible in 1685. The first edition was printed in 1680. Primers, Catechisms, grammars, "The Practice of Piety" — Baxters "Call to ye Unconverted" soon follows.

Success of Elliots successors. "In short," says Dr Increase Mather in a letter to Dr John Leusden Heb. Prof. in ye Univers. of Utrecht, dated July 12. 1687 — "there are six churches of Baptized Indians in New England, & 18 assemblies of Catechumens, professing ye name of Christ. Of ye Indians there are pow & twenty who are preachers

of ye word of God, & besides these there are four English ministers, who preach ye gospel in the Indian tongue." [p. 62]

Wm Shaw's Experience in S. Africa

One William Shaw, of South Africa Cape Colony, went into the interior, to Albany, into the midst of the most hostile Caffres, threw himself among them on their confidence &c was received, protected, & soon succeeded in introducing christianity among them. See George Thompson's acc't of the matter

The Native from Rio Nunez

A man, native from Rio Nunez whom I met in New York, stated that ye true way to introduce the gospel among his countrymen was to come among them, with no connexion with any colony, as one of them, venturing on their confidence & in so doing there would be no difficulty in the case. See the same fact attested to in Denham & Clapperton's travels in Africa.

Statistics of the Meth. Ep. Church. 1853.

	Whites	Colored	Indians	
Georgia Conference	25628	7946		
Mississippi Conference	6380	2645	701	
Alabama — " —	8196	2770		
South Carolina — " —	24773	22326		
Virginia — " —	34361	7447		
Baltimore — " —	36507	12732		
Philadelphia — " —	46111	8960		
New York — " —	29871	586	20	
New England — " —	15317	304		
Maine — " —	14583	8		
N. Hampshire — " —	15697	6		
Troy — " —	18442	50		
Oneida — " —	37076	111		
Genesee — " —	23166	49		
Pittsburg — " —	34978	285		
Ohio — " —	58145	502	217	
Missouri — " —	7135	996	561	
Kentucky — " —	25117	4709		
Illinois — " —	13349	72		
Indiana — " —	23344	273		
Holstein — " —	22349	2593		
Tennessee — " —	28707	4674	885	
Total.	549232	80044	2384	= 631660. + 2500 preachers.

16.

Facts in relation to St Domingo from a lecture of George Thompson Esq.

When the Revolution of France commenced in 1789. St Domingo was at the height of its prosperity as a Slave colony.

Liberal principles reached the island.

The population was divided into about 20.000 Whites
26.000 Free Col'd Peo.
500.000 Slaves

The free people of color ~~anxious~~ though nominally free were yet not enfranchised—

They, anxious to obtain their civil rights, petitioned the National Assembly to befriend them.

The whites were equally anxious to keep them in their degraded state.

On the 15th of May 1791 The Nat. Assembly decreed that they were entitled to all the rights of citizenship. This drove the whites to phrenzy. They trampled on the White Cock-ade - determ'd to resist the execution of the decree by every possible means.

Both parties armed, & respectively called the Slaves to their assistance & war & conflagration ensued.

Towards the close of the year the Nat. Assembly rescinded the decree in favor of the Col'd people.

This drove them to madness & led to renew'd hostilities

Again, In April 1792 the Conventional Assembly

reversed the last act of the National, & restored to the free people of Color the privileges granted to them by the decree of the 15th of May of the former year.

They also sent out Santhonax & Polverel as Commissioners, with large powers, to enforce the decree & keep the peace.

Animosities continued - the parties were ripe for war - & June 20. 1793. a quarrel between a Mulatto & a white man was the ground work of a battle which raged with the utmost fury for 3 days. On the one side, whites assisted by the seamen, who left their ships in the roads to make common cause with them. On the other, Mulattoes & some insurgent blacks. Thousands were killed - half the town burned down - & arsenal taken & plundered. [The cause was prejudice]

The French Commissioners were spectators of this scene, had but about 1000 troops to enforce their authority the English too were expected, & they therefore determined to call the Slaves to their assistance.

They issued a proclamation, Santhonax at first in the North & Polverel after, in the South & West, in which they promised freedom to every slave willing to range himself under the banners of the Republic. This was the first proclamation on the subject, & was called the proclamation of Santhonax, & being made known especially at the North, to which the insurrection had been chiefly confined A considerable number of Slaves came in & were employed almost exclusively for the time on that part of the colony & enfranchised. ~~This was called the proclamation~~

Polverel soon after visited the West & South & found all quiet & flourishing.

The slaves, however, soon hearing of ye riots in ye North & the proclamation of Santhonax, Polverel was induced in consideration of ye safety of ye planters to draw up a proclamation extending through ye whole island. Thus the final stroke was given to the existence of slavery in St Domingo in the month of Sept. 1793.

So convinced were ye planters of the necessity of this measure that all but one, gave in their name at the registry offices, opened for the purpose in favor of it.

Feb. 1794, The Conventional Assembly of France, passed a decree, for the abolition of slavery throughout all the French Colonies, thus confirming the liberty of the blacks in St. Domingo, & setting 500.000 slaves free in one day - & that too, with no preparation, by education, or by melioration, relinquishing the whip by degrees, - no extra troops; - the vices of slavery all thick upon them; - no organization among the whites to meet ye evidences of ye change; - no special regulations; invasion without; conflict & irritation within ye island; - an immense majority of numbers & strength & able therefore to cast away restraint & take government into their own hands; provoked to it by years of

St. Domingo

years of unrequited toil, & wrong & outrage;- tempted to it also by the known fact, that so far as their masters were concerned, it was a matter of sheer necessity & not a generous ~~love of wrong inflicted~~ repentance & reparation of wrongs &c. & yet what was the result?

They do not cut their masters throats, or fire his dwellings, or enslave them in return &c -

But says Col. Malenfant, who was resident on the Island at the time, "After this public act of emancipation the negroes remained quiet, & continued to work on "all the plantations" -

But we turn now to a diff[t] scene. The English Government, having been repeatedly solicited, by a portion of the White Colonists to send an armament & take possession of St Domingo, at last consented & in Sept 1793. a British Squadron under Lieut. Col. Whitelock entered the harbor of on the northern side of the Island, & commenced a crusade, which, after lasting ~~five~~ years & occasioning an enormous waste of British life, & treasure ended in defeat. The Eng. succeeded at first in taking a few towns, but afterwards, harrassed by the negroes, ~~& the~~ who, were accustomed to the climate & therefore better able to stand the fatigues of war; cut off by disease, daily growing weaker, while the enemies were growing

stronger & more expert in the tactics of war, they found every prospect of gaining poss.n of the island blighted.

At this time also, appeared Toussaint L. Overture, who was now to be the leader of the republican army; - the restorer of order; - the regenerator of agricultural industry & enterprize in the island. Never had man to undertake a more diff.t task, for he had to govern, control, elevate, & render useful, as a soldier, a citizen, & a cultivator of the soil, the suddenly emancipated slave - to reconcile also the interests, hopes, & dislikes of this man with the prejudices & interests of his former master - to overcome indomitable foes - &c & all this he, the slave of Breda, an unmixed negro, achieved.

The first demonstrations of his greatness were in the struggle with the British, during the latter part of wh. so highly were his services appreciated by the French Gov.t that he was appointed Commander in Chief of the Armies of St. Domingo. In this capacity he won the respect & admiration of his enemies the English & became so widely known & esteemed for honor & veracity that it was quite a proverb among friends & foes, that Toussaint never broke his word.

Anecdote

Towards the conclusion, of the contest, Gen. Maitland

upon whom had devolved the command of the English troops, sought an interview with Toussaint at his head quarters, & had such confidence in his character th he did not scruple to leave his own army, & attended only by one a two men, proceed to ye camp of ye negro General, though he had to pass through a country full of negroes who had lately been his mortal enemies.

A French Commissioner, an enemy of Maitland, wrote to Toussaint, pointing out ye advantages th might be gained if he made the British Officer a prisoner, on the road to ye camp. Maitland received a note from a private friend, informing him of ye plot & advising him to return. He had however too much confidence in the negro - on he went & reached ye tent of his foe.

On asking for ye Black he was desired to wait. After considerable delay, during which the English Genl felt some misgivings, Toussaint appeared with frank & manly bearing, holding two letters in his hand, which he presented to Maitland, saying, "There General, read those letters before we talk of business". The one contained the recommendation referred to & ye other was Toussaints answer, in wh. he thus addressed ye treacherous Frenchman.

"Wh! have I not passed my word to ye British Genl!
"How then can y suppose th I will cover myself with

"dishonor by breaking it? His reliance on my good faith
"leads him to put himself in my power, & I should be
"forever infamous if I were to act as you advise.
"I am faithfully devoted to the republic, but I will not
"serve it at the Expense of my Conscience & my honor".

Sept 19. 1793 the British entered the Island. At length reduced to the last extremity, & all hope of conquest being blighted, Gen! Maitland in 1798, entered into a negotiation with Toussaint, surrendered all the British Possessions, all the Colonial black troops, & in the name of his Sovereign, resigned all pretensions to St. Domingo forever.

Let us now return & look at the conduct of the emancipated slaves during this period. St. Domingo was still a dependancy of France. During the Struggles with the English, altho. particular parts of the island were the scenes of conflict & war, yet in other respects, it had never been in a more flourishing condition. The negroes gave every proof of industry, subordination, & content. They diligently cultivated the plantations & received the wages of their labor. They submitted cheerfully to all those regulations which it was thought necessary to establish, & living in possession of their freedom were

St. Domingo.

satisfied & happy. Those whose merits had raised them to stations of honor & responsibility were as solicitous for t re-establishment of the French interests as for t preservation of th[e] own freedom. In short t Colony had seldom been more productive; t revenue wh. it afforded to t Mother Country more abundant; the persons & property of the planters more secure; nor the negroes themselves more industrious & peaceful.

Such was St. Domingo — the best soldiers on the island — t best officers — the Gen[l] in chief, all liberated blacks — Her agriculture as flourishing & harvests as abundant as ever. "The Colony, says Malenfant, was "flourishing rapidly; t whites lived happily & in peace upon their estates & t negroes continued to work for them." — "The Colony", says General Lacroix "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor — the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture — Cultivation prospered & every day produced perceptible proofs of its advancement."

Gen[l] Vincent, himself the proprietor of several estates declared in Paris in 1801 — seven years after Emancipation that, "The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; that Cultivation was making rapid progress and that t blacks were industrious & beyond example happy".

St. Domingo

St Domingo

Its present State. 1st In regard to its commerce, agriculture &c

Its exports estimated at the very lowest are £1.750.000 Sterling. In 1832, by the custom house books she raised & exported — 50.000.000 lb Coffee

1.500.000 Cotton

300.000, Tobacco

500.000, Cocoa

5.000.000, Dyewoods

80.000, Hides

12.000, Tortoise Shell

500.000, Cegars

6.000.000, feet Mahogany. & realized from the Coffee alone 1.750.000 dollars revenue. This she did against the odds of unequal duties; for example, in

Beside this, articles are cultivated on a large scale for Home Consumption

England, On Coffee, Jamaica paid £ , St. Domingo £ 3. Duty

Dyewoods, — " — " 3.0 — " — " —— " —— 4.6 p ton

Miscellaneous Facts.

Miss Hussey of Portland states the following as having occurred in 1830 at St. Augustine.

The Northern Slaveholder

In the house in which she boarded was a northern man who had gone to the South & become a slaveholder. On one occasion, supposing that those around him felt like himself, he began to talk of the negroes – insisted that they were nothing but brutes &c – that they would not work except as they were driven to it – that his feet were lame kicking the damned villians &c – that they had on their plantation an African prince who was one of the most stubborn fellows he ever saw – that they had whipped him &c & tried every method to subdue him & break his spirit & that they had at length nearly or quite succeeded – that he was pretty well subdued. Unable to restrain her indignation she broke out upon him & said she should think he would be ashamed of himself. For with one breath he insisted that they were nothing but brutes & yet he had just been detailing the process by which they were made so, & he ought to be ashamed of himself. He was silenced & made no reply.

The same man said that some one in that

Miscellaneous Facts

vicinity said "the greatest & best boon he would ask of God was an arm that would never tire in whipping negroes."

Miss. Phebe Anthony of New Bedford, stated to wife that when in Baltimore she was informed, I think saw, a man, then living & passing as a gentleman, who was once in the habit of having intercourse with a little slave girl of his only 11 years of age, on one occasion, as he indulged himself, his wife & family were waiting him to the meal, breakfast or dinner, but he did not come, & on going into his chamber they found that he was unable, his — having swollen, to detach himself from the girl. Physicians were called — himself & the girl were in such agony that they bit each other & the Physicians decided that one or the other must die, & so decided on dissecting the girl & did do.

Man in Baltimore that had intercourse with slave girl 11 years old.

Sales of Negroes by the State of Georgia

The Governor of Georgia in his message to the Legislature in 1834 states that aggregate amount of sales of negroes belonging to the State is $118.148.

Slaves on the Steam Boat in James River Virginia.

"In this boat, in the forward cabin & steerage are about
"50 slaves intended for the Southern market. The
"slave dealers are on board & quite a study to observe
"them & their countenances. As we passed a ferry this morn-
"ing, a boat put off with a slave – a female with
"a small babe. I found she had been purchased by
"one of the dealers in blood who was on board. He
"stood on deck & looking on with a savage smile,
"remarked that slave was not willing to go – that all
"her friends were there & she was leaving them for-
"ever. When she came on board the tears were
"streaming down her sable cheeks & despair was
"depicted in her countenance. But it made no
"impression. They are herded together like pigs, &
"in their habits are not much above the brutes. Relig-
"ion seems to have taken her flights – at least so far
"as concerns this slave dealing community.

Letter of I. H. Stanwood Great Falls N.H. to Rev. I. A. Smith, dated
"Steam Boat Patrick Henry off City Point Nov 13. 1834"

White Slave known by brand

Charles Thompson of Mobile, said to Mrs (his cousin) Kent of Concord N. H. that he owned a slave that he only knew from a white by a brand on his neck – that he had auburn hair – beautiful complexion – blue eyes &c

Miscellaneous Facts.

Mrs Seth Robinson, Montgomery Ala., told Mrs Kent of Concord N. H. she wished to frighten & tease her brother who could'nt bear to have a negro near him.

Child 4 days old killed

She accordingly seized a little infant 4 days old from the arms of its mother, & chased him with it in the rain around the house under the piazza. The exposure was too much. Child took cold & died that night of the croup. & said Mrs Kent with a shudder how could you be so cruel as to kill the poor little creature so? "O, Sr she, I did'nt mean to hurt it, you might know I did'nt; for it was my sister's property & it was worth $50. to her."

Potter of Portland

A man by the name of Potter - once a slave - laid up $250 in Portland in one year & a half. His wife & children have just been redeemed from their bondage

Carter or Coates

Carter, or Coates, now resident in Augusta Me - once a slave in Virg^a. In the course of the last fall Prof. Wright learned that kidnappers were after a man by the name of Coates a tin man, supposed to be residents in Portland & wrote Winslow accordingly that if there was such an one there he might be put on his

guard. H. could think of none, unless it were one Carter now resident in Augusta & formerly in Portland. He accordingly wrote him, not knowing at the time that he was a runaway. The next day Carter was at his house full of anxiety & distress. He neither eat or slept for the first two or three days. The first morning he was up by daylight writing a letter to his wife informing her of his safe arrival in P. He said if she did not hear from him the night she wd set out for Portland after him. He has the means of a comfortable living. He succeeded in escaping from his master by pretending that he did not wish to be free. His master used to come & ask him — apparently to test him.

The Slaveholding Minister & Revivalist

A Mr Morrill, formerly of Pine St. Church, went South in the winter of 1834, a colonizationist. Said he had not been there a week before he found the scheme all a farce there, & found the Anti-Slavery fever was coming on him. His friends told him he must keep whist & so he did as much as he could. He soon however set out for home & on finding himself in a stage with his face homeward & in company with a Rev. Mr Russell, formerly from the North, & noted in

in the region as a revival preacher, he thought he might "let out" his feelings, but he found at once that he had gotten into a hornets nest in earnest. The good parson stormed & raved & quoted bible & said "he would turn out with sword in hand to put down any man th preached abolition South of the Potomac".

"The Congregation's Man"

The Rev. Henry Wood of Haverill N. H. once Prof. in Prince Edward's College Virg^{a}, on a certain occasion walked out with a friend, a native of Virg^{a}. On their way they met a number of negroes, & inquired, as custom often is, "Whose are you?" "Such a man's" said one & another; at length one whom they thus accosted replied "I'm the congregations". M. Wood inquired of his friend wh^{t} it meant, & received for answer, th he belonged to Congregation, th pious people when they died, wishing to do something to sustain religion, sometimes willed their slaves to the Congregation & th they were held as the property of church, & hired out by Committee, their hire going to pay Minister &c & th such slaves, for obvious reasons, were as a general thing the worst off of any slaves in the Community.

Old Negro a Negro Affection

The same individual on a certain occasion saw an old negro, with his wife & child put up at

auction, to be sold separately. The old man, with tears in his eyes said, "do not sell the woman away from that child - sell me - do any thing you please with me - sell me where you will be but dont sell the woman away from the little child - dont - dont - seperate them".

Rev. John Field a Northern man. He was a hopeful convert in the revival at New Haven in 1820, studied for the ministry - took orders in the Episcopal Ch - went South - labored awhile on one of the islands in the vicinity of Charleston as a missionary among the negroes - went back into the upper country when the sickly season came on - fell in love with an old woman, with two plantations, & children as old as himself - married her & with her, her negroes - has bought him a house in Canonsburg as a winter residence - lives on the plantations in summer - rides in his carriage to Charleston to sell his cotton, with a negro to drive & another behind to open door of his carriage - sells his cotton & pockets money - is "well off as to worldly things" he says - has overseers around him & has done preaching.

Ann Jones or Kidnapping. She & her husband had been slaves in Maryland & escaped about 2 years since, & had been living in the

mean time in Pennsylvania about 60 miles from Philadelphia & were living in a very comfortable & happy style. I saw her with her little infant in her arms at the Anti-Slavery Office & had the facts from her own lips in April 1835. About break of day some 12 men came to their house & rapped at the door. Her husband's sister, had just got up & was making the fire, but all in her night dress. She asked who's there & wht do you want? Does the tavern Keeper live here? No, but so & so. Is there a yellow man here by the name of ——? Yes. We want to see him. By this time she was at the door & was about unbolting it, when they burst it open - rushed in - seized her, (screaming) about the waist - dragged her into the street - her brother came at once, undressed, to her rescue - knocked him down - & then dragged him bleeding from the blow into the street - snow & rain were falling - tore his shirt from him in the scuffle - handcuffed & carried him off to the tavern. In the mean time one of them had dragged off the sister in her petticoat only to the same place - the mother cried out they've killed him, & she the wife, though but one week from her confinement, frightened, sprang to her bed & ran into the street to help her husband. They bro't her in again & left her saying they should come for her in two or three weeks, as soon as she was well enough to go.

Having secured the husband they then came back after

the son, a little lad of some 7 or 8 years of age. The mother had hid him up stairs, when another family lived. They searched the house - found him - tore him from the mother - with only a shirt on him, & the last word the little one said as he went down stairs, were, "O mama, dont leave me - dont leave me". She begged them not to take him - "Yes I'm going to take him too," & that, said the mother with tears, was the last I saw or heard of him".

Mr Birney's Statements } These illustrate the safety &c of Emancipation, & were made at New York, May, 1835, at the meeting of delegates. Mr B. gave his own experience - had been a colonizationist - became a gradualist - went to Cincinnati & spent a day with Weld & had his faith shaken - received a good deal of light from my book which was then just out, & was put in his hands. &c. Since that, the subject of Em. Em. has been debated among the students in Centre College at Danville, & when the question was taken, the vote stood 20 for, & 23 against. 2 of the professors & 14 of the students belong to the ~~State~~ society in Danville. The subject was fully & freely discussed in the Synod. He mentioned the case of a minister, opposed to slavery, been a gradualist from his youth & yet a slaveholder. In a place where he held a debate

from 3. P.M. to 12 — the principal opponent was the minister of the place. Elder Chh. members in Pres. Chh. he considers as beyond reach, but has hope in the young. The Methodists hold no slaves. The baptists are behind other denomins in the state in regard to emancipation. The eldership of the chh's are mainly responsible for slavery there — especially in the Pres. chh, bec. the minister if disposed cannot discipline in the case bec. of a rich, influential, slaveholding eldership

There is generally no want of intelligence among the colored people bond or free, so far as the matter of the rights is concerned. They are also exceedingly sensitive & pliable to direction from their friends. Mr. B. saw such a slave on a certain occasion, & on telling his name, "Are you the son of the good man that is doing so much for us?"

It is impossible to preach the gospel to them for any great length of time, with success, unless you are a friend to their emancipation. (Bethune) Reports of success are always insane from the beginning of such efforts & not from the end. It will be found to be so with Jones, he had no doubt.

Slaves know perfectly what is doing for them in the free states.

The blacks in Ky. as a general thing do well — get rich faster than whites. After much inquiry, out of 5000 free he could find but one old woman that was county charge.

Slaves know that their good conduct will help abolitionists & they speak of it, & this operates powerfully to keep them quiet.

A Mr Mukes, in 1828, emancipated 63 slaves & they are now all doing well, & have testimony of their neighbors that they are a most quiet & orderly population.

On a certain occasion was to have a debate on the question in a school house of which an old slave had the charge - Birney a stranger - rode up - found & old man getting & house ready - asked what for - told him - "Well & uh! do you think about the matter - think slaves ought to be free - "Me dont know, massa". Had the discussion - Birney left his knife - next day going by, old slave came running out to him with it, & said "me no know then massa - me know now - & if y hant got & right now I dont know who has."

Birney's own slave, now emancipated - no extravagance - has & whole care of his father's farm - is so industrious, up so early & so late & he has actually on several occasions gone out & called him in from the field - his slaves will lay up this year half their wages.

Slaves in some cases know more than their masters - higher ranks are educated - the other classes are extremely ignorant - not more than 1 in 7 can write his name. A school-master in Virg.a was indicted for

teaching slaves & the foreman of ye jury could not write his name.

5000. slaves are sold to go down ye river annually chh-members sell as well as others.

Slaves have little or no instruction — Masters when they call them in to prayers never read all ye bible — skip parts of it — so of Watts Hymns. When he was a slave children used to alter thus — "We will no longer lie as slaves [abject] before the throne." Ministers & christians generally treat the slaves no better than others. Slaves generally do not join ye chh. the masters belong to, but some other, as if the masters conduct had destroyed the confidence in his religion & that of his denomination — especially is this true in relation to Presbyterians.

There are no laws against instruction or emancipation in Kentucky. The result of our operations is to bring others up to giving instruction &c. He would as soon trust his life & interests to his emancipated slaves as to any set of men on earth.

Slavery, References to articles &c.

1. Slavery in the British Indies. See Quart. Observer April 1834, termination of - numbers - kind - condition - prejudice

2. For Johnson's arguments & opinions touching Slavery see Boswell's Life of Johnson.

3. Article in American Quarterly by Mr Vaughn of Salem.

4. Slavery in the Three Colored Republics of Guiana. Basis p. 113.

5. Slavery in South Africa. Bates p. 156

57.

Opinions of Eminent Men touching Slavery & Emancipation.

1. Dr. Johnson's. See Boswell's Life of Johnson

Objections to Immediate Emancipation.

1. Portland. (1) Why not attempt to reform abuses in regard to domestics amongus?

(2) Slavery makes fine ladies! See Prof. Dew's Essay. published by Duff Green, & capt Porter's Story.

(3) What have we to do with it?

(4) I am much opposed to slavery as any body.

2. England. Oasis p 200.

05.

Objections to Gradual Emancipation

Objections to Inclination or the discussion of the Subject.

Objections to the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

1. See Mrs Child's Oasis p 7.

2. Boswell's Life of Johnson

(Various efforts for the Education &c of the Blacks.

The history of these efforts will illustrate the point that nothing effectual can be done for their elevation so long as slavery remains; that to attempt it while we leave the giant sin untouched is but lopping the excrescences & cutting twigs &c — is but attempting to destroy the fruit while we not only leave the roots untouched but by our protection, dig about & dung it that it may bring forth the more fruit.

1. Augustine Hall, a seminary for colored youth, established at Philadelphia. Bost. Rec. vol 1. p 122. 134

2. African Theological School, proposed to be established by the Synod of N. York & N. Jersey, Dr. Richards, Griffin, Romeyn, Finley, McDowell, Spring, were appointed directors for the first year. Bos. Rec. vol 1. p 182. 186.

77

Illustrations of Negro Character

1. An individual conversing with a negro in regard to his religious experience, asked him, if he did not think it wonderful that Lord Jesus Christ should be willing to die for such a poor sinful degraded being as he? "O no, massa" was the reply, "it just like him".

2. Mrs Child's Oasis. (1) Strong natural affections. Malem-boo the Brazilian Slave, p 21. (123 Jolly-Coeur. Cornelius & St Croix p 209.

(2) Courage & Heroism. Henry Diaz, the Negro General, p 41. — A slave gibbeted, hanging by an iron hook & reproving two slaves because so unmanly as to complain when whipped p 119. p. 115, 116

(3) Generosity of character. Alexander Lasselin. Oasis p 144.

(4) Gratitude. The colored ladies in Portland that sent $3.50. to found Garrison journal vol. 2, p 85.

Illustrations of Prejudice

(1) Alexander Vasselin. Cases p 144. - Mr James E. + p 54. The Young Haytian p 235.

(2) Judge Brad's wife of Newark E. having been converted in a revival, joined the Church. It happened that a colored woman was admitted at the same time, on which a number of white members called on the Judge in regard to his wife's joining the church. He replied, "Yes she had done so, & he should have cared nothing about it if she had not joined at the same time with a damned nigger."

(3) Mr Vaughan of the Bible Society, in going to Brazil was recommended to receive at Rio from some liberal Colored men of the first rank as officers in the navy - he refused & even any seaman that he might receive him of the prejudice forever.

Expulsion in relation to the burial of the blacks.

(4) Nov. 16. 1835. Attended a School meeting at Farmington, held for the purpose of acting on a report of a com. on the new burial ground. It seems that the Society have recently been laying out a new burial ground. In it, after laying out a square, there was on the south side, a small wedge shape piece of land left, separated from the other burial lots by an alley. The report of the Com. proposed that that land should be allotted to the burial of the blacks, although a lot, No 13, had been allotted to the poor & to strangers in the midst

Farmington Burial Ground.

of the field, the same as to others.

Mr. Whitman, hoped the report would be adopted. The land could not be sold. The adjoining proprietor had said he would not take it as a gift. And the truth was that was a very proper place to inter them. There was a distinction between them & the whites. It does exist. It does no good to deny it, or to think of doing it away. The God of nature has made it. The Const. & Laws of our Country have made it. Go where you will it exists. It Exists in Hayti. There the white is as much despised as is the negro here, & it was but right that this distinction should be observed.

Mr. Horace Cowles, said the Soc. had laid out considerable money to buy land on the North side of the lot, so the ground might be laid out square & now if this gore was occupied, & especially if separated from the rest by the proposed alley, it would defeat that object. The alley would advertise every body the ground was not square. He proposed therefore that the ground be left unoccupied, & that the colored people have a lot assigned them in the square, or if occupied that the alley should run next the fence. He thought it the better way to leave it unoccupied, & to give the col'd people a lot elsewhere, as they had unappropriated land, (say 100 lots) enough & to spare.

Edbert Coules - said we might as well come to the point at once. His opinion was that we ought to make a distinction betn them & whites. Our ancestors did it, & they did it for wise & sufficient reasons. Our Children cannot & are never going to amalgamate with them. Our daughters are not going to be wives to the woolly headed race, & our sons are not going to embrace greasy women. Our ancestors made this distinction, & they did justice to the blacks. It is right th there should be such a distinction. It should be kept up. It was but just. They paid no taxes, & were not compelled to do military duty. And besides, he was authorized to say that it accorded better with their own feelings to be buried in the place proposed than in any other. And he knew it would better suit the feelings of this community. They congregate together living & they congregate together when dead. It was but right. There was no injustice in it.

Timothy Coules said he had recently been called on to pay a tax to purchase new land, so that the ground could be laid out square, & he was ready to pay another, but he was not ready or willing to say to this man or that man that does not pay a tax & whose friends may not, in the providence of God, be able to beautify his grave, you may be put under the fence when you die, or into the river or

over the Mountain, or somewhere else out of the way. It would not do. It was trifling with the most tender & sacred feelings of our nature. And as to following the example of our ancestors by this arrangement, it was not so. Then, it was well known, put the blacks in a front part of the ground. He liked the resolution proposing to give them a spot within the Square.

Edward Hooker, dissented from the views of Mr E. Cowles. He thought these prejudices unreasonable, & that they ought to be done away, & as to the location in question, he was himself indifferent, but thought, as these prejudices did exist, it was, on the whole best, that it should be as proposed in the report of Com.

Austin Williams – dissented entirely from Mr E. Cowles, & proceeded to notice his objections. 1. Our ancestors did so. Then we should make them slaves. They did the 2. We wd put them by themselves – bec. they were black &c. Shall we turn Windoos?

3. Dont pay taxes &c. They do pay taxes. Some of them have been taxed to pay for this very ground. And in the Revolutionary war they fought & bled for the liberty we now enjoy. 4. Our children not going to amalgamate &c. Do the gentlemen afraid of a mixture in the Grave? And why not be consistent & go further & say, we'll have a separate place

for them in Heaven? After several others had spoken, the vote was taken, when it stood 30 for the report & Com. & 40 against it. Dea. Richards, Martin, Gady & Henry Cowles, & others of ye same stamp in ye affirmative.

Again, Free Negroes may be made slaves & their descend-
-ants forever remain so, following the condition of the mother.
I speak now, only of their being made slaves by law, & not
of the various ways in which they may be made so by the
arts & devices of the kidnappers or "soul drivers" as they are
termed. I mean to say then, that the laws make free colored
men slaves, & for some trifling offence, doom them & their
posterity forever to hopeless, unmitigated & ceaseless bondage.

For instance, by the act of 1740, (Brev. Dig. 237.) in - - -

1. South Carolina - - - "if a free negro, harbor, conceal, or
"entertain a run away slave, or a slave
"charged with "any criminal matter" he
"shall forfeit the sum of 10 pounds Cur-
-rency for the first day & twenty shillings
"for every succeeding day, & in case
"such forfeitures cannot be levied, or
"such free negro &c shall not pay the
"same, together with the charges attend-
-ding the prosecution, such free negro
"&c. shall be ordered by the justice to be
"sold at public outcry; & the money
"arising from such sale shall, in the first
"place be applied towards the forfeiture & the
"owners & the overplus, if any, shall be paid by said justice
"into the hands of the public Treasurer"

True there is a law, in acts Dec. 20. 1821, which virtually repeals this, changing the punishment to "corporal punishment not extending to life or limb" at the discretion of the court; & yet in 1827 (Charleston Courier Aug 13) "Hannah Elliot, a free black woman, her daughter Judy, & her sons Simon & Sam were indicted under the act of 1740, for harboring, concealing & entertaining two female children, aged about six & nine years, the property of a lady" in Charleston, & "the court found them all guilty", Hannah with having harboured them for the term of two years, & her children with having done it for 16 months respectively, & sentenced them accordingly. Unable to pay the enormous penalties thus imposed, they were sold at public auction, ten days after the trial, as slaves during life.

with Ms. B. 9. 1 (3)

3. Georgia. "By an act of Dec 19. 1818. any free person of color
"[Indians in amity with the State, &c, & regularly
"articled seamen &c excepted] ~~incurs a penalty~~
"for coming into the State incurs a penalty of
"a fine of one hundred dollars, & upon failure
"to pay & same within & time prescribed in the
"sentence &c he, she, or they shall be liable to be
"sold, at public outcry, as a slave."
Prince's Dig. 465, 467.

with Ms. B. 9.1 (3)

This law operates as a premium on licentiousness & as one grand means of perpetuating the system.

And thus it may & does entail hopeless bondage on every person whose maternal ancestor, even in the remotest degree, can be shown to have been a slave, though the father at each successive generation may have been a white free man, & the person himself so white as not to be distinguishable from a white. — E. G. — "Absconded from the subscriber on "the 10th inst. a very bright mulatto "named Washington Thomas. He has "sometimes been mistaken for a white "man"!

Democratic Press (Phil) for Aug. 13. 1827.

with Ms. B. 9. 1 (3)

In other of the British West Indies, the written law is silent
"on this head, but by established custom, the
"quadroons or mestizos (so they call the second
"& third degrees) are rarely seen in a State of
"slavery."